1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

621 The foregoing citations speak for themselves. Attention may merely be called in passing to three points, particularly in the passages from Viedma—the fluidity of band membership, the kinship nucleus of the band, and the system of family hunting grounds very similar to that prevalent among the linguistically related *Chon*-speaking peoples, the *Ona*. (Cf. also on this third point, Krickeberg, 1934, pp. 331–332).

622 The headman's chief function in peacetime, in addition to the functions mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, was to harangue the band each morning and voice the day's agenda as regarded hunting and traveling. (For a text example of such a hunting exhortation, see Hunziker, 1928 a.) He had practically no authority to issue orders; nobody would have obeyed him. Nor did he act as authoritative judge in disputes. The average *Tehuelche's* attitude appears to have been that of Musters' Indian, Cuastro, who with his dying breath shouted out: "I die as I have lived—no cacique orders me" (Musters, 1871, pp. 80–81, 184). The headmanship was usually, but not always, hereditary, from father to son.

627 578 **Disputes.**—There was no set judicial procedure. Conflicts between men of the band were commonly settled by fist fights, or else with the bolas, the disputants in the latter case being corseleted and helmeted; between women, by tongue lashings, hair pulling, and clubbing (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 81); Muñiz, 1917, pp. 212–213); often before an interested gathering of their fellow tribesmen and tribeswomen, who abstained from interfering and greatly enjoyed the spectacle, so Viedma (1837 b, p. 81) informs us.

721 Bloody feuds between bands, occasioned by trespass, horse or woman stealing, or other causes, were common. The *Tehuelche* were far from being pacifists, but rather the contrary. The various bands would sometimes unite, in loose temporary or more lasting confederations, against common enemies—the Argentine *Araucanians*, the *Puelche*, or the Whites. The leaders had considerable influence, depending, it would seem, a great deal upon their abilities and personalities.

WARFARE

411 The chief fighting weapons of the later *Tehuelche* (on the warlike pursuits, and for that matter on the whole political culture of the early *Tehuelche*, we have practically no information) were the long lance and the bolas, especially the bola perdida, to which were added, when obtainable, metal swords and knives of Spanish provenance, and guns and pistols. D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:117) mentions a "dard" [javelin? for hunting?], and Sánchez Labrador (1936, p. 45) states that when an enemy could not be reached with the lance as held it was sometimes thrown at him. Heavy coats of multiple hide and

poles from top to bottom and make firm partitions. On the outside 342
the hide touches the ground on the north, west and south. The entrance
is always left facing east and is as wide as the entire tent, which is in
the shape of an oval cave. Nothing whatever is placed at the entrance
to close it except [80] in freezing weather, when it is closed by hanging
a hide across it. The inner partitions are arranged from the center to- 342
ward the back for each married couple, and the children and other 542
family members and relatives sleep all in a jumble in the remaining
part which is no man's land up to the door. Here widowers, widows,
unmarried men and women, relatives, servants and slaves and, in fact,
as many as are dependent on or related to the head or master of the
tent, come together. Virgins here, in spite of the opportunity try, as 836
has been said, to keep their virginity while they have hope of getting 837
married; but if they should lose this hope they will take any man
indiscriminately, and they and the widows spend the night merrily,
taking up with the first man who cares to sleep with them.

Quarrels between men belonging to the same camp are decided 627
by coming to blows with their fists and hands. They are not allowed to 578
use any weapons, and no one dares to separate them until they give in
or separate on their own accord. The onlookers applaud them and
laugh. When women fight they begin in a sitting posture, to say of- [516]
fensive words to each other until one of them starts to unbraid her hair
very calmly, at which the other does likewise, still keeping up the flow
of insults. As soon as both have loosed their hair, they shake it, get up
and charge furiously, tugging hard on each other's hair and yanking out
as much of it as they can as it tangles in their nails. The other women
and men just look at them, not daring to pull them apart. When they
become exhausted they themselves separate and are as good friends as
a result of this as though they had not fought. They allow their hair to
remain loose for the remainder of the day. The women may not strike
each other in their fights with hands or fists as do the men, nor may
they pull or tear each other's clothes, only their hair, and should they
do otherwise they are corrected by the surrounding spectators.

In time of sorrow, on the march, on very windy days, when it 302
is very cold or freezing, the Indians paint their faces black or violet, 751
the men as well as the women, to keep their skin from chapping.

Usually these Indians are of a sweet and innocent nature, and [157]
they became so attached to me and they treated me with such simplic- 123
ity, especially the chief of San Julian, that had we had enough horses
I believe there would not be a span of those lands which I would not
have been able to explore in their company.

Buenos Aires, December 10, 1783
Antonio de Viedma [81]